

”Feel like family”

- Why do they have so many immigrant girls in Underground?

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Introduction

This research is the result of my practical training. I study Master's program in Youth Work and Youth Research at the University of Tampere in Finland. I did my practical training in Underground in Jönköping in Sweden. The theme of the practical training was immigrant girls and the research question is 'Why do they have so many immigrant girls in Underground?'. My supervisor was Peter Magnusson who is a counsellor and a social worker. He is one of the main leaders in Underground also. I heard from him and other people that it is difficult to get immigrant girls involved in the youth center's activities. Earlier studies emphasize that boys are more active than girls also. So maybe we should focus more on girls.

Underground is a youth center that co-operates with the city of Jönköping and is organized under Råslätt's Community Fellowship Church. Underground is located in Råslätt, which is one of Jönköping's suburbs. Many immigrants live there, consisting of 60 ethnicities and several religious groups. There has been successful work with integration, girls' free time, network building etc. through Underground. In every program the goal is that young people get support from adults in positive way and developing free time activities. In the past year, 50% or more of the youth have been girls, which is quite unique in immigrant neighborhoods. (Underground.).

Girls have a significant role in Underground's work. Underground's leaders and co-operators wanted to know why they have so many girls in their youth work. Many politicians, journalists, youth workers and other visitors are very interested of that also. Underground has gotten a lot of attention with their good work among the girls. But they had one problem in the Underground. They have not got official information of their girls' work, only some thoughts. Then the trainee from university had a good solution. She could do an official study. The research question was why girls are involved in Drop in? But also their other programs like the Driving School, the Leadership School etc. are all meant especially for the girls. So the better research question is why do they have so many immigrant girls in the Underground? So the research of the immigrant girls is needed.

I was three months in Jönköping and during this time I interviewed 30 immigrant girls from Underground. I used half-structured interviews and the method of analysis I used was thematic analysis. By immigrant girls I mean girls who are thirteen to twenty-two years old in this research. Language was a little problem, or a challenge for me, but I managed it. The girls understood me quite well and I transcribed all of the interviews. Now I can say that Underground is a safe and social place. Girls like Underground and feel comfortable there. Immigrant girls need relationships, many activities and possibility to take responsibility.

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1. Relevant literature

This chapter includes relevant literature in this research perspective. The first chapter is 'Earlier studies', some research information from Sweden and Finland. The second is 'Sense of safety' what is needed because Underground is safe place according this research results. The third is 'Youth work with immigrant girls'. And last one tells more about Underground and after that their special focus on girls.

1.1 Earlier studies

They do the research of youth life style every second year in the Jönköping's municipality (Alijevski). So then I got the latest one which is from March of this year. There are three groups of the youth and children. Those are classes 4–6 (713 children), classes 7–9 (1117 young people) and high school youth (2909 young people) (Jönköping kommun 2014, 2, 5.), but I review only classes 7 to 9 and high school because the first group is too young to be involved in my research. When I say only boys or girls I mean these two groups. Myllyniemi and Berg have done the research of young people's leisure activities in Finland. There is something similar kind of information than in the Jönköping municipality's research.

Many young people say that they would like to go to the youth center to replace them more often than it is possible to go. The most important thing for those who are holding is that they are self-imposed, to take part in activities there, to meet both boys and girls, a chance to make new friends, the space is free from school, and there they can take it easy. When they asked 'How many times you have been in some youth center in the last four weeks', girls answered a little more times than boys in the classes 7 to 9. But high school boys answered more times than high school girls. However, as a whole the boys are visiting much more and more at youth centers than girls. (Jönköping kommun 2014, 20.). And Alijevski (2014) says they have a really good sport hall but no girls involved in, 80 per cent are boys.

When they asked 'How often do you work out so that you get out of breath or sweat in your free time', boys answer more times than girls. Girls are more physically inactive than boys. Girls with immigrant background are increasingly more inactive than those with a Swedish background. And children who come from homes with lower an economic standard exercise less than those who come from homes with a good economic standard. Free time committee of Jönköping will work in particular to get more girls physically active. But girls have visited much more times in library during last four weeks than boys. And girls read more books also than boys. Still many studies indicate that Swedish children and young people read less today than earlier. 52 % of high school

students, both girls and boys, did not take part in fluent activities which municipality organizes for them. They need new strategies to keep these young people. (Jönköping kommun 2014, 15, 17, 23.).

From the whole age group of 7–29 year-olds, 85 per cent have a hobby in Finland. The share of young people with hobbies is at its lowest between the ages of 15 and 19 years, but it begins to increase again after around 20. 86 per cent of the young people go in for some sort of physical exercise. A physical exercise hobby is the most common in the age group of 10–14 year-olds. About one-third engage in physical activity, lasting for at least half an hour and leading to shortness of breath and sweating, at least five times a week. The regularity of physical activity drops clearly among teenagers, especially boys. 71 per cent of the young people are of the opinion that they are physically active enough. Physical exercise done about four times a week is considered to be enough. The popularity of independent physical activity increases with age. (Myllyniemi & Berg 2013, 147–148.). Their figure 35 indicates that as a whole girls have more hobbies than boys. These hobbies mean many different kind of activities. Boys are more active with sports through organizations than girls. Daily there are 15 per cent of boys and only nine per cent of girls. And there boys can meet their friends also at the same time. Usually the boys come from homes with a good economic standard. (Myllyniemi & Berg 2013, 42–43, 21, 82.).

More than half of the 7–29 year-olds meet their friends on a daily, and almost all of them meet their friends at least weekly. The frequency of meeting up with friends decreases clearly with age. The number of close friends was determined and found to be an average of about six, slightly more among boys than among girls. The most common places for meeting up with friends were one's own home or a friend's home. In the case of daily meetings, however, the internet is more common. Meeting up occurs common hobbies, at youth centers and at libraries most among 10–14 year-olds. The internet is most important to socialize in the age group of 15–19 year-olds, but the peak for meeting up on the streets also occurs in this group. The most passive young people in terms of physical activity are the ones who are most active in meeting their friends over the internet. (Myllyniemi & Berg 2013, 147.).

1.3 The sense of safety

Rieppo has studied high school and university students so she suggests that relationships bring the most support and safe for the life. Be a part of some larger group, and affiliation significantly increases safety. In this way a person feels they are approved. Family or friendship relations are the stability of the feeling bring the predictability and continuity to the life. (Rieppo 2000, 30, 33.). Relationships are very important for the young people in Underground also and make them feel safer there.

The perception of danger can be unrelated, but still it offers strength through interpersonal communication. Being safe or feeling fear does not need to be caused by personal experiences. Those feelings can be instigated by multiple sequences of events shown by global news and presented as factual information, even if the adverse news only represents a minor part of the overall transmitted global daily news reporting. (Fabiansson 2007, 33.).

Fabiansson has studied a research which involved young people from Australia and Sweden. The most common situation to be afraid of in both countries was being alone at home and then if someone would break into the house. The young people were afraid for their personal safety, that someone would try to murder, rape or hurt them in some way or that an unknown person would come into the house. A small group of young people thought that they were followed or became scared of something that later proved to be nothing to be afraid of, but they had been really scared at the time of event, nonetheless. One tenth of the Swedes said that they had not been in any scary situations compared to just 2% of the Australians. (Fabiansson 2007, 44–45.). So it is very important to offer safe places to young people, like youth centers where they can spend their free time. Then they do not need to be alone at home so much.

Fabiansson suggests that there should be a balanced presentation of local and world events by mass media which would give young people a more accurate view of the society and thus balance their fear of a constructed and natural phenomena. Social indicators need to reflect and represent the dynamic and changing local and global situation of issues that make young people feel safe. Circumstances influence young people's well-being. Reasons for not feeling safe can have a variety of sources, be globally derived, directly related to personal experiences, the home environment, or to the local environment. The present media and political focus on violence, war and terror gives the impression that the world is less safe than a decade ago. (Fabiansson 2007, 46–47.).

1.3 The youth work with immigrant girls

You need to give space for different kind of values and lifestyles, that you do not normalize young people's life and activities (not to make a mold them) in a multicultural youth work. Different cultures will interpret the surrounding reality in different ways and give same things different meanings. It is important that youth leaders know young cultural special features and what "own culture" for each young person means. But it is impossible for leaders to be familiar with every culture. The issue is the interest and the will to know and take into account young people's cultural and individual differences. Multiculturalism challenges the leader to be aware of her or his guiding and to make observations and to evaluate the differences between people and groups of people. The leader should consider the methods of her or his background and the practical consequences of

those. (Honkasalo & Souto 2008, 131–132.)

I read a book of Islam before my practical training. The book was, *Stepping into the shadows Why women are converting to Islam* by Rosemary Sookhdeo. Now I have more knowledge of Islam and especially of the girls' position in it. So this was my way to get acquainted with the girls' culture in Underground better, because there are many Muslims girls also. But when I came to Underground, I did not know who are Muslims and who are not, because the Muslim girls did not use a scarf there. Still I think that it was very good to read the book beforehand. More information gave me more bravery. Hederos thinks that you should notice the culture also. You and young people need to learn the different cultures and that things are not black and white. You do not know all the answers and everything is not always what it seems to be. (Hederos 2014.). And it is important that girls of different backgrounds are together (Muslims, Orthodox etc) (Alijevski 2014).

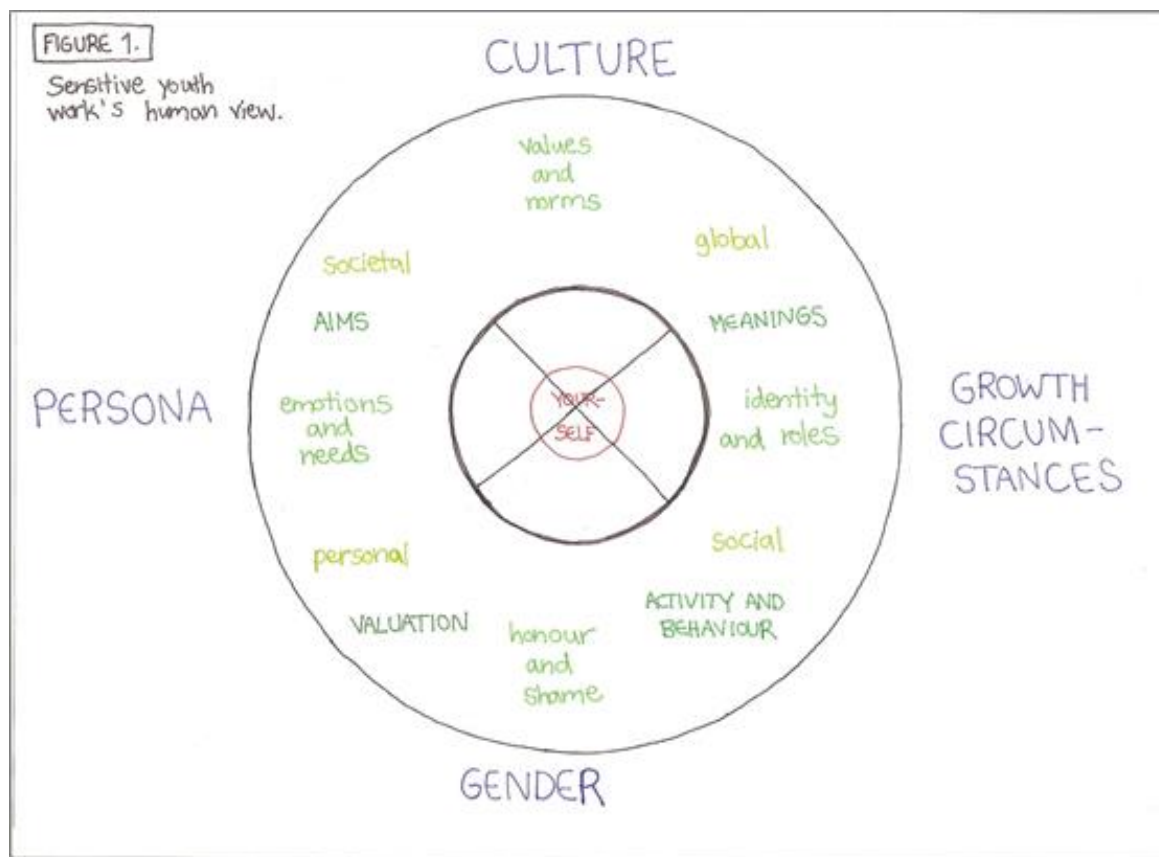


Figure 1. Sensitive youth work's human view. Gender and culture sensitive girl work connects levels, which are societal and personal issues. There where gender and culture meet, there meet the personal and the political also. A person (girl or somebody else) is in the middle of the circle between different kinds of pressures. (Näre 2008, 544–545.) I'm not sure if every word is right in

English. Valuations are a little different than the values in Finnish. And persona means something like a personality or an individual. I have tried to ask Näre if she has this figure in English also but she did not answer me. But you can still see how complicated situations are where immigrant girls live. So many things affect their life and there can be conflicts also.

1.4 Underground

There are many kind of programs in Underground. In addition, we are involved in recreational and social programs in various areas. Our aim is to build relationships between young people and adults. We have very few scheduled programs, because our young people say that they want to be free on weekends, but we offer many different activities (for example Drop in center, girls activities, music, employability help, counselling). These programs have developed from the needs and initiatives of young people and give us a number of opportunities to increase the positive effects. We have four major programs which include different activities. Many young people have had difficult past experiences, both in Sweden and in their homeland, but now they help many younger teens and mentor them. More than 2/3 are girls and the young people come from Somalia, Yemen, Bosnia, Syria, Lebanon, Turkey, Kosovo, Eritrea, Kurdistan, Liberia, Vietnam and Sweden. Underground is open on every Saturday and Sunday evening and Fritidsgården (city of Jönköping's drop in center to young people) is open on 3 weekdays. (Underground.).

The first program is support with homework, school and school contacts. We meet teens in person to help, but sometimes through social media also. And then we go with them to meet schools etc if it is needed. The second program is counseling support. We have experienced, dedicated and skilled workers, who are also neighbors and part of Råslätt. Thus, it is less shameful to ask for help. In addition, we have a large cultural know-how and connections to families and agencies, which means that we can support holistically to different parts of life. The third is a private Driving School for those who do not have anyone to help them with this (especially immigrant girls). Many young people, especially girls, do not have the opportunity to get a driver's license, if we do not help them through our non-commercial driving training. During driving lessons we also get a chance to talk about school, life, work, future and personal issues. In addition, the young people can use us references for job applications if they have been on time, taken responsibilities etc in the Driving School or other programs - a very important thing, when they do not have strong networks. (Underground.).

The fourth, one of the most important programs, is the Leadership School for teenagers who are good role models and have a positive impact on others. Those who already have a good influence on others, can apply to our Leadership School, which has seven half day seminars on

leadership, child and youth welfare, building self-esteem, boundaries, etc. The course is a 3-year training for young people aged 16-25. More and more the young people take responsibility for different parts of our programs or develop new or existing programs. Young people in the Leadership School make up a large part of the activities that are organized and they take a lot of responsibility. They collect ideas and thoughts from other young people and act as a steering group for all work. As young people as role models, they can influence and get a lot more accomplished than most of the other volunteers. Part of this program is to study and do internship trips to other countries where we work accordingly. Our goal is to make a trip to Europe and beyond each year. For this we need sponsors and supporters. Our Leadership School run a program called "Bright Future", teaching how to influence the society and how to get into the job market, how to make a good CV, how to perform in a job interview and much, much more like that. The Leadership School participants are then helping others in the same area. (Underground.).

Rules in Underground (Drop in nights on Saturday and Sunday): We have two really strict rules: respect and zero tolerance for violence. We have also worked hard to sure that the girls are treated with respectful. Respect everyone and no humiliation disputes (we have placed particular emphasis on girls' rights). 1) Zero tolerance for violence (even just playing) and if you break this rule, you will have to go home for that night. 2) We do not throw around garbage. Cans and dishes should be put at assigned places. We close Underground on those days, when this does not work. 3) We take care of the facilities, furniture and other things. You will pay for what you wreck - even if it was an accident. 4) Everyone is responsible for ensuring that everything runs well. It's is not enough to behave well but we expect everyone to tell others to take care of our place. Everyone works unpaid here and we think this is fun, and this will continue as long as everyone helps out! 5) We want Underground to be a safe place for all, so that everyone between 12-20 years feel welcome and that their parents would trust us to let them come there. (Underground.).

Success factors in Underground: Our young people themselves take the major responsibility for developing the site and helping in various ways. Our success is also based on the culture of clear boundaries, and a conscious investment in girls as well as good examples to work with the following matters: 1) Non-paid work means that we are on the same side from the beginning. We have refused to pay anyone but still have a high level of professionalism, because we realized that we have a much greater impact as neighbors and friends rather than representatives of authorities and the society. We are also well-known among parents, grandparents, and others so this generates additional opportunities. 2) Faith in God is the basis for added security and respect from all religions. We have a starting point in faith, without any religious program, so other faiths respect us very well (and we them). This ensures people of a well based ethical standard. For many parents of

girls, this is a crucial honor related issue, that they can trust adults who face their girls. 3) All programs create deep relationships with young people who, in turn, build a stronger, bigger network and are motivated to help others. Our programs respond to the needs that exist among young people, and gives us many ways of interacting with the young people and the possibility of building closer relationships with great respect for our youth. Again we give special focus to the girls as they so often are neglected in our society. Young people in our leadership school influence and connect with many whom adults cannot touch as deeply. And they then can bring these young people to a professional adult. (Underground.).

1.4.1 Pedagogical guidelines

Based on our core values forgiveness, responsibility, respect (defined as giving value to oneself and others) thankfulness – makes the word FART (speed) in Swedish. We have a clear pedagogy in all activities though it is not always easy in the open activities that exist just to meet the need of non-organized free time. In order to have a positive influence through our programs, we need adults who focus on building relationships with young people. We also need other adults who can focus on the more practical work, freeing the key leaders to the pedagogical work. At the same time we involves young people in our practical work We monitor and continuously reflect on our guidelines for the protection of children and young people in all our activities. (Underground.).

The pedagogy of schools tends to focus on academic learning, while we focus on informal learning and life. We want to convey the values of right and wrong, responsibility, social interaction, education and work, and most of all focus on self-confidence and hope for a better future. Growth and development of social, emotional, and spiritual areas are then important. We want to meet young people with great respect but also expect them to show respect towards others. It is also important that they learn that they can stand up for their faith or beliefs, but to learn to do it in a constructive manner, without having to attack others or being biased. A good way to achieve this is through a variety of talks and discussions. Often built of small bricks all the time, example a brief conversation, a little chat on Facebook, a little encouragement, can deepen the discussion afterwards. (Underground.).

The guidelines are: To be seen and spoken to: All young people should get a "Hello" from at least one adult. We are trying to learn the names and then to use them. Encounters with adults: In the youth center, we have two areas, where we always try to have at least one leader who is specifically available to talk (one will focus on 12-15 year olds and the second 16 to 20 years). All of the leaders (those who have relationship with young people and those who want to work directly with them) are working all the time to build relationships with young people. When a new school

year course begins in the autumn we focus specifically on assisting the new 12 year olds to feel safe, understand the rules and to build relationships with them. (Underground.).

No harmful sub-cultures: We try to make sure that areas where adults are not “wanted”, are not created, but that leaders move around and are present in all areas. If we identify groups or individuals who seem to have a negative impact on others, we get in there and we try to generate a positive change, but if it fails, we disturb the negative development and try to separate them from each other. Always build relationships but also a respect to not to barge in: When leaders move around, we avoid intruding but exchange some words and strive to build relationships. If there are young people who are in need of a moment of privacy, and we see that it can have a positive impact, we will try to arrange it. Clear boundaries and consequences: We always deal with any destructive behavior according to our rules. By always being clearly consistent with any negative behavior, we create a positive and safe environment. Influencing values: Negative and destructive values, such as beautification of violence, women's oppression, crime, smoking, and materialism are not changed by speaking or by providing more information but by being role models we can influence and change them. When we do practice what we are talking and caring about, we create a foundation for young people to listen to our values. We use I-messages, such as "I worry about you when". (Underground.).

Trust and joint responsibility for young people: We give young people as much trust and responsibilities as we can and inspire them to believe that anything is possible, we recognize that different personalities and older or younger youth need different ways to express themselves. Some may lead activities, others to be involved in the planning, while others may prefer to express their thoughts and ideas in private, such as messages through Facebook. We evaluate how different young people handle responsibilities and trust and then we coach them for growth. Our Leadership School is an important part of this. Extra fathers, extra mothers and extra bigger siblings: We are aware that in certain circumstances the extra father or the extra mother figure is needed while other times it works better with someone who is like a big sister or big brother. This approach is also part of our efforts to build strong personal relationships and not only, and not just to do a job or a task as we work with the young people. (Underground.).

Fighting Jante (the “Jante law” is a cultural expression to not believe you are import and not think you can do something important), and let positive role models be further strengthened: By building and developing positive role models among the youth, we have created strong positive forces. 80% of those who "lead" the behavior of others are girls. When the girls have begun to speak out about how they want things to be, they themselves are strengthen, but they have also had a positive influence on rowdy boys. We challenge the law of Jante and affirm their great potential

and this way has created a very strong network, with more and more young people pulling in the same direction as we adults do. Non-threatening care in a relaxed environment so that everyone can relax from macho and other tense roles: As our leaders are trained in how to respond to young people in non-threatening ways and how to create a relaxed atmosphere, we can be proactive and avoid problem situations before they even begin to emerge. And when they occur, we can solve them in constructive ways. (Underground.).

To strengthen and encourage - always a lot more: We consider all opportunities to encourage and affirm our youth when they do something good, have improved in an area or just expresses low self-esteem. We need to change our cultural influences that cause leaders to not be positive enough! Many young people have hardly ever any positive feedback from adults and we want to shower them with it! We also express the potential in them. "You are so great at....., You could go anywhere..... If we believe in them,(and often we may be the only ones doing that) it can start up the first goal in their life and the desire to achieve it. "I believe in you" is perhaps one of the most important things which we can give. It is also the best way to break any destructive behavior. In our surrounding programs we get even more chances to this than in the youth center (Driving School, school support, counseling etc). (Underground.).

Real integration and networking: As we, leaders and volunteers, have different ethnic and social backgrounds, but we are working towards the same direction, we have a unique opportunity to connect. We combine professional competence with no paid work based in the community as we all belongs to Råslätt and are neighbors and friends to everyone we meet. Several of us know not only the young people but parents, grandparents and other relatives. In the local cultural environment we have unique opportunities for dialogue with and trust from young people and parents. Our volunteers and visitors from outside of Råslätt complement us in practical areas, but also to give the young people more positive contacts with people from other social contexts. We also aim to help young people to build support networks outside of their direct connections, as that can help in many areas of life, such as summer jobs and work. Driving school, School support, Counseling and Leadership programs are our side programs and these have grown out of our pedagogic strategy and the suggestions and needs expressed from our youth. They make it possible for us to reach our goal even more effectively as we get so much time with many individuals. Child and Youth protection: All our programs follow our child and youth protection policy. (Underground.).

Alijevski remarks that the clear pedagogical guidelines affect positive way, because girls need something more than only hang out. And it is good that you not only think your own work, you need co-operations with school etc. (Alijevski 2014.). Hederos agrees CV help is very good and

very important. Especially if parents are unemployed. Young people have really got to work on this form. Young people should know that they are important part of community because they are employees in the future etc. (Hederos 2014.).

1.4.2 Focus on the girls

We invest a lot in girls in different ways. We constantly strive to improve the environment and atmosphere, we listen to the girls' suggestions and try new things for them. We are developing the girls' rooms for those who want them, but we want to make sure that the girls are safe in the common areas also. While we focus on the girls, we are aware of the fact that we do not do it at the expense of boys. We want to smooth out and create the conditions for the activities, in which everyone is a winner! Male leaders, who themselves are parents, are encouraged to act as father figures for the girls and to treat them with respect and give a lot of encouragement and affirmation. A father figure role is also making it easier for parents to trust us as they know their girls are protected and guaranteed respect. Girls who get to see how a man should treat them, become less vulnerable in many ways and will also get a better self-esteem. In order to make all this happen we have a clear guideline for protection of minors and a cultural education for our staff. Normally male and female leaders work together. As our female leaders work with boys, we see many positive effects as we teach the boys to respect women and girls. (Underground.).

In the society and in the family there is often a lower priority on girls. That is why we are doing the opposite in Underground. We also realize that girls, in their turn, may have a positive effect on the boys. Girls and, as it happens, even some boys often need to look after their younger siblings, and then we allow them to come to the center rather than hanging on the streets and we allocate a special room for them. This will help the girls who may need us the most that they can come to the center too, and we also support them as they are forced to take adult responsibilities. At the same time we teach them that younger children must be protected from being stirred up and from being treated roughly by other teenagers. (Underground.).

As we are focusing so much on everyone, and specially girls should be and feel safe, and as we have many years of trust building within the local communities not least because of our faith and value based work, we reach the point where girls are allowed to take part in what we do and they and their parents are not to lose honor before their communities. Girls who are confident that there are adults in whom they can really trust, and who know that they are supported all the time, will become self-confident and strong. It is very important that our societies stop automatically looking at girls from the Middle East and North Africa as always being victims of honor related pressure and violence. We have established an honor security that does not limit the issues of the

girls' right to the rights of their sexuality but rather look at the whole person, belonging to a family and a community. This person has rights and needs in many areas of life, including security and family. (Underground.).

Four girls, Natalie, Elize, Nancy and Belan, have done the girls project like a small research of the girls' night in Underground. This was their high school project. Today's society prioritizes on women less than men. For example, men get paid more than women. Social activities will also focus on boys more than girls. So that's why Natalie, Elize, Nancy and Belan think that girls need something that they may think they are important. Their project was to create a positive experience for the girls. It was not just the girls, they wanted also to show that it is possible to organize a night of relatively small amounts of money to the municipality of Jönköping and Recreation Committee. They also wanted to show everyone that you do not need to invest large sums in various projects, but if you instead look at what the girls need you will succeed much better with involving them. To reach out to politicians and other influential people we wanted to invite politicians to evening and publish an article about the evening in Jönköping Posten. (Koutcho N., Schyman E., Baranou N. & Kaki B. 2013, 3-5.)

J: do you have done some kind of research or something? Peter said something about project or? H2: yeah, we have like research in our project H1: high school project, one he was talking about H2: yeah H1: yeah, we made it, made it our research H2: aand the UG is the only youth center that has more girls than boys in the whole ää in Sweden H1: in whole country H2: yeah, in whole country so... yea, I do not know what he told about research but... J: no nothing, I want to know more H1: yeah H2: we have like more girls than boys, that's why we are working like two our as (?) like, other youth centers they like, their leaders is like 40 or 50 years old and we like 20 years old so we can talk to younger person and make them come to us H1: because it's different if Peter makes something (H2: girls like yeah) girls activities or something and he invites them it's different if we do it because it's like youths working with youths and we get this closeness with them that Peter can't that was like example, I think that's why we have (H2: yeah) so girls because we know most of them we can, we can talk with them and make them come and follow us (Koutcho and Schyman 2014.).

We also wanted the girls who came were able to talk with and get to know new people, and especially people who are on the "right" way with their lives and not just driving around. It is something that is important for their own future so we think it is something that is worth spending

time and effort on. The purpose of the evening was to do something for the girls that was just right for them, and where they could feel the priority and focus. (Koutcho N. and others 2013, 5.)

J: what happened there in this night? H1: we made it lot bigger than usually, we had much accessories.. H2: make up and H1: everything was more, it was more looks what we have done H2: yeah and everything was free and we wanted too that girls feel like they can feel beautiful and don't have to pay money for that's so (H1: yeah) yeah we made it all to be like H1: today it's about you we are working to make you beautiful better H2: so like people who can like put make up on, like they work with it so on H1: yeah, it was hard to get volunteers but... we did it... H2: yeah, not many people want to work for free J: yes, what was the purpose of the school project, the research? What you did? H1: it was that.. as we set before to make them, to make the girls come and think yeah, we wanna do this for you, it's all for you, it's not just about the boys all the time because most of, most of the places it's all about boys, they focus on boys but we don't want, we don't want that, we want girls too, we want to be equality I think... H2: I think it was like the research, I think it was like öö 67% of the money ööö go to the boys öö so we wanna change that and like make equal like öö (H1: 50 50) yeah 50 50 so that's we like offering everything like girls H1: it's not just about focus in the girls, we just wanna to be equal because boys don't have to get invited, they come anyways girls are mostly more shy and you have to talk to them H2: and they have rules at home H1: yeah H2: so they can't go out at night H1: specially here the parents are stricter, they have to trust us to make them youngers come to us so H2: so that's why we have to work with the girls H1: yeah, we have to focus on on more (Koutcho and Schyman 2014.).

There are good things which happened after their big girls' night. Underground usually has some girls' nights, but this girls' night broke records. There have not been so many girls earlier in Underground and probably not in this kind of event anywhere in Jönköping either! So this is just a beginning of their business. As they worked with Underground, they have given the recreation center even a better reputation within the community. There were also other activities here in Jönköping which have been in touch with Peter, who is the leader of Underground and asked if girls would like to help with their girls' activities. The municipality has long wanted to do more activities for girls but it has been difficult to get to, and above all to influence the right direction in the long term. (Koutcho N. and others 2013, 10.)

2. Data, method of analysis and research ethics

The research data consists of twenty-three interviews from girls who are involved in Underground's different activities. This means that 30 girls have been involved in this research. Five interviews and eight girls are from the Driving School and there was a different question format for them for the others. The other girls are from the Leadership School, Drop in nights, girls' nights or something like that. There are four interviews where are two girls at the same time in the interview. And one where were two girls and one where were three girls from the Driving School at the same time in the interview. Both of the interview's question formats are enclosed. I met two Jönköping municipality's employees also with my supervisor. A theme of these discussions was immigrant girls and Underground. But there was not a question format for the two discussions. Those were free talking of these things.

All girls are from 12 to 22 years old. The girls from the Driving School are from 17 to 21 years old. Then I asked: "Were you born in Sweden or in another country?" and: "How long have you lived in Jönköping?" as background questions. But almost every girl was born in Sweden and had lived her whole life or almost whole life in Jönköping so these questions did not give any interesting knowledge from the girls' backgrounds. I should have asked where their parents were coming from, but I did not ask that, because when I noticed these wrong questions than it was too late to change, because I had done many interviews before that. Almost every girl is a second generation's immigrant. And there are different religion backgrounds also, for example conservative Muslim girls.

The interview situations varied in this research. I did them in Underground (when it was open in the girls' room and when it was close in the living room), the Råslätt Church's office, Jönköping community's youth center (when it was open) and outside in the Råslätt park. Almost every girl has been many regular times in Underground or in the driving lessons with Peter. But five girls have been only few times in Underground because they were so young or just new girls in there. But it was very interesting to get their answers also. But still their answers are not different kind of the others. Two girls wrote their answers to me and sent those in the Facebook. But I think it's better to get the answers in an interview because the girls did not answer every question and it took so much time to get their answers. I decided to take this kind of answers also because I had a problem to get more interviews in June. But then it came as a surprise to me that I got a little more than was needed in July.

We created a Facebook group where I told some things about the research, the girls asked

questions and we agreed the interview times together. I and my supervisor were in the group also. The group worked quite well but there were too less girls so it was a little hard to get more girls. Then I went to the community's youth center when it was open in June, because Underground was closed then. I got more interviews there. And the supervisor asked the girls from the Driving School because I had not their contacts. I did the last interviews in July when Underground was open again.

2.1 The half-structured interview

You can think about themes before the interviews, but in addition there are specific questions which all you will ask the interviewees. A half-structured interview is suitable for the studies in which you have decided in advance the desired information of the particular things which you want to get. And then you do not need or want to give a great freedom for the interviewees in the interview situation. (KvaliMOTV.) I did just this in this research. I thought about the themes before the interviews, but I changed them a little after the interviews before the analysis. And I asked all the questions if it was needed. Sometimes it was and sometimes it was not. I chose this kind of an interview because it was easier for me that I have every question ready and I have thought what I could say, because I did the interviews in English which is not my mother tongue. And I had never earlier spoken so much in English.

First I did three test interviews, but there was nothing that I should change after them. I got what I wanted. But later I noticed some difficult questions, but those were not difficult for every girl. So I got better answers from some girls, but I think that it does not matter because I could not explain them better. The most difficulties questions were "What would you like to do?" and "How did you become interested in this activity?". You will always get better and longer answers from others and only two words from others.

2.2 The lettering

I recorded all the interviews so then I needed to transcribe those also. That means I listened those and wrote them with a computer. And then the text was like a lettering text. I transcribed all the interviews myself. I was surprised how easy the lettering was because before I started the research I thought that I would need a lot of help specially with the lettering. I cannot believe that I transcribed all the interviews by myself. I did not record the two discussions, but I have notes of those. When I was ready with the lettering Underground text took 19 pages and the Driving School text four and half pages. The discussions took two and half pages. Then the whole text which I analyzed was 26 pages. I wrote everything that I heard but did not write Swedish words if I did not understand them. Sometimes a dictionary in the Internet helped me if I did not understand what is the word which a

girl used in the interview. And sometimes I left some words which I could not recognize. But most of those words are not in the important clauses.

When the lettering was ready I wanted to change the interviews codes. First they were 1., 2., 3. and so on. But this was the order in which I did them so I changed it from numbers to letters of the alphabet. And I put the letters there like random, but D means a girl or girls from the Driving School. For example HED means H = an interviewee, E = the order code so I could connect the answers with the original interview, and D = a girl or girls from the Driving School. So you can see if there are many quotations from the same girl or girls. But now anyone, even my supervisor, cannot know who is who in this report. But of course somebody who knows the girls well can notice something that some of the girls has said, but now anyone cannot know that from the codes. Now the girls have a better protection of anonymity.

2.3 The method of analysis

I used thematic analysis. I thought some kind of themes before the interviews, when I figured out the questions. But after the interviews I changed those themes a little. These themes came up easily so I decided to use them in my analysis. The themes are ‘background’, ‘the first time’, ‘activities’, ‘heard and got interested’, ‘good and bad’, ‘safety’, ‘other youth centers’ and ‘parents’. I changed the answers ‘What kind of programs...’ from the ‘first time’ to ‘activities’, because the answers are part of activities. And then I made the answers ‘Do you feel that you are safe...’ like an own theme, because there are many good answers and I wanted to take that up better. After the lettering I organized the lettering text so that every answer was under a right theme topic and then I printed all the lettering interviews. The next task was to read all the printed interviews and in the second reading time I made underlines and signs. And I considered the answers at the same time.

The ‘background’ theme involves all three background questions, but these results are in the chapter 2. *Data*, because there I tell what kind of data I have in this research. All of the other themes’ results are in the chapter 3. *Results*. ‘The first time’ theme involves questions: “When did you come to Underground for the first time?, Alone or with somebody?”, “Why did you come here for the first time?” and “How often do you come here? (Every month? / Every weekend? / Other?)”. The ‘activities’ theme involves questions: “What kind of program (or activity) have you been involved in?” “Which activity did you attend first? (the Driving school, Underground (Drop in nights) or the leadership school?)”, “What do you usually do here?”, “What would you like to do?”, “Would you want to organize some activities for the girls in Underground (by yourself or with your friends)? And if yes, what kind of activities? “. The next theme is ‘Heard and got interested’ and it involves questions: “How did you hear about this program (before you came)?” and “How did you

become interested in this activity?”.

The ‘good and bad’ theme involves questions: “What is good here?”, and “What is not good?” “Why?”, “What is the best thing in Underground?”, and “What do you not like at all?” and “What could be done in a different way?” This was such a big theme and there were so many a little different kind of the answers that I decided to share it subthemes. Those are social, activities, best and bad. The next theme is ‘Safety’ and it involves questions: “Do you feel that you are safe here?” and “What is the reason for this?” The ‘other youth centers’ theme involves questions: “Do you go to other youth drop-in centers than this in your free time?”, if yes, “Do you go there as often as you go to Underground?” or if not, “Why do you come only to Underground?”. The last theme is ‘parents’ and it involves questions: “Do your parents know that you come here?” and “Do they know Peter and/or other leaders?”.

There is a different kind of question format which I used for the girls from the Driving School and there are only five themes. Those are ‘background’, ‘the beginning’, ‘why’, ‘like and safe’ and ‘know more’. The ‘background’ theme involves all the same three background questions than Underground format and these results are in the chapter 2 also. The ‘how’ theme involves questions: “How did you hear about this opportunity?”, “When did you start it?” and “How often do you have driving lessons?”. The next theme is ‘why’ and it involves questions: “Why did you choose this option and not a driving school or someone else to drive with privately?” and “Do your parents know Peter also?”. The ‘like and safe’ theme involves questions: “What do you like this driving school?”, “Do you feel that you are safe in the DS?” and “What is the reason for this?”. The last theme is ‘know more’ and it involves questions: “Do you know what Underground offers more (drop in, girls activities, music, employability help, counselling etc)?”, “Are you considering using any of the other programs or activities?” (if not, why?) And “What kind of activities or programs?”.

2.4 The research ethics

The problem of interviews is that you can take them too realistically, so you think that people tell about things as they really are. But you should remember that there are for example many kind of sources of errors caused by the interviewer and the interviewees. (KvaliMOTV.) This means that different kind of the interview situations can cause some errors in this research. Sometimes there were a lot more background noises and sometimes there was a silence. But I do not suggest that there are many errors caused by this reason in the research. The interviews’ theme was so easy that you can answer everywhere. Underground is a public place. I did not ask about girls’ home life. So these reasons make the situations easier. I have also tried to take care of the girls’ good protection of anonymity, because I promised them to do that. This is the reason why there are not any names or

too personal answers in this research report.

The data is needed when the topic and set the task of research is full. One way to resolve the question of the adequacy of the data is saturation. It is completely reasonable to think the data be enough, when new cases no longer bring the research problem new information and the material begins to repeat itself. (KvaliMOTV.). I have got twenty-three interviews. Five are from the Driving School and there is no saturation yet. I think that this is good. Eighteen interviews are from Underground generally. There I can see the saturation because the last interviews produced the same answers. But still it was interesting to get the last answers from the younger girls who had not been in Underground so many times as the other girls as well. I think that this is not too much over now. But if I had a little fewer interviews I would have more time to do the other parts of this research better. But still I'm quite satisfied now.

I did all the interviews in English and only a few times there was a translator who translated from English to Swedish to the girls, not even every question. I think that it is better with your own mother tongues (both for the interviewer and the interviewee) but I still got really good answers because the theme and the questions were so basic and easy. Only a few times there were difficult situations when I could not explain the question better in English. Many of the girls thought first that it was too difficult, I could not speak English so well, but during or after the interview they noticed that it was easy. They did it and gave the answers. I think that they gave more bravery to use their English. And many girls said that it is nice to meet new people like me. My own English is so much better now after this research than earlier. I cannot believe that I transcript all the interviews by myself. I'm surprised how I did it and how well the girls spoke English so that we did not need more translators.

I came from Finland so it was a little hard to get contact with the girls or good relationships. I had been only some weeks in Sweden before I started to do the interviews. So Peter and some of 'the boss' girls helped me to get contact with the other girls. Peter said that it takes about two years that girls start to trust you. So if I had worked in Underground for two years before the interviews and this research I would have got different, maybe deeper, answers. But regardless I'm satisfied now because I have got good interviews and data. Before the interviews I told the girls: "I came from Finland from Tampere University. I study youth work and research there so this is part of my studies. This is my practical training and Peter is my supervisor. And I'm doing just this research because Peter and the others here are interested to know why they have so many immigrant girls here. And I will use the research results later in my master thesis in the next year and here Peter will use them also." I told this because the girls have a right to know these things and specially where and who will use the results.

The girls did not know what I really meant every time. This problem was the biggest with the Driving School interviews, when I asked “Are you considering using any of the other programs?”. Then every girl did not know what is the official name of the activity where they had been involved in. For example some girls did not know that they had been involved in the counseling support or the school help because they just met some people or talked with someone. The same problem was with the concept of Drop in and the youth center. Some girls didn't know what I meant when I asked “Have you been in Drop in nights?”. They didn't know that it meant Saturday and Sunday activity nights. And a few girls did not notice that the youth center meant the place where they just was. But this did not come up when I did the test interviews and the next time I know that I should explain things better. But the time affected a little also, we did not have time to consider the questions more or to test those words and concepts better. Still this problem is not with the main questions so I suggest that it did not affect the results too much.

3. Results

The data produced very good results. In the text I follow signs: J = Jonna, H = haastateltava and sometimes wrote I something like background noises in the parenthesis as like (tuuli). Jonna means me, the interviewer, and haastateltava means interviewee in Finnish. Tuuli is wind in Finnish, but I can write these extra things in English in this research report. But when I did it, the Finnish words came to my mind first. I wrote background noises when I think that those affect little to interviewee. And when some of the girls said some of their friends' names, then I changed it to something like NAME, because they have protection of anonymity. The number means that there were two or three girls in the same interview and then she who speaks first was the number one and so on. UG means Underground, LS means Leadership School and DS means Driving School. I have deleted all my comments like ‘mmhh’ and ‘yeah’ (if those are not needed) because references are better and clearer from perspective of results now. You can focus on right things better. There are some parts where is question mark like (?), it means that there was one word what I did not understand, but I still understand the answer. The words are not important. Now you understand the references better in this chapter, because you know what signs mean.

3.1 The first time

Many girls came to Underground when they reached the right age (twelve or thirteen) and they have been there for about three years. But five of the girls have been only a few times in Underground because they were so young or new girls there. Their answers are not much different from the

others. Every girl came to Underground for the first time with a friend or friends. Many say they came to Underground the first time because of the activities. Girls say either that they like activities and different options what they can do or they have nothing else what to do or they miss something more what to do. Different activities are shown in the next chapter “Activities”. Many girls say that it is fun, too. Other reasons are like social reasons. Girls go there because their friends are there, they want meet new people and one girl said that she goes there because the other immigrants are there. Hederos said also that the most important thing is relationships.

HI. H: this setting was open, and we were interesting see, because we haven't anything to do and they say that youth center was open, so we went down here, it was open...

HD. H: because we didn't have so much to do so, here you have a lot of different things, different options they you can do

HG. I just wanted to see how it is öö here, it was for youth and I like do hang out with people, play games or just sit here and talk to each other yeah, just hang out ?? be outside when it is cold so it's better come to in, insides and sit here and that's that's one of the reasons

HQ. HI: the reason was because I saw us like opportunity to do something new and I took it, I didn't know what expect I just... here we are

H: öö there was a lot of people who was talking about the place so I was curious so I came down here to see what it was aand yeah it was UG

In the interview HQ girl means why she went to Leadership School. Many girls also wanted to see how it is because they have heard about it or it was a new place or it is place where they were supposed to be. Most of the girls go to Underground every weekend, at least on Saturday or Sunday. Girls, who are in the Leadership School, are usually working there and they come as often as they can. Some girls come only occasionally. And the reason why those girls are not going there that much is usually that they have something else to do.

3.2 Activities

This theme includes what kind of programs and activities girls have been involved in and what they usually do in Underground. Girls have been involved in girls' nights, dance and dance competition, hanging out with friends, watching a movie, playing cards, basketball, football, and other games. And girls from Leadership School have also been involved in helping in the kitchen, helping people, doing Driving School's background things, going around and checking that everything is

okay in the Drop in nights.

HI. J: what do you usually do here? H: dance, I opened the studio, dance studio and we have like open studio for girls they can coming to dance and learns different moves

HD. H: just hang out with friends, we can come and talk, just play cards or watch a movie or play basketball or dance, dance is big part of my life so

HA. H: I don't know... I been, I playing football and I have been helping a lot of people in the, in the LS ööö because Peter, Peter is a is a... I have learnt lot of him, he is really good leader and he always tell us to do our best and to try on help other people when they are in need so that's yeah ... I mean I think it's fun a and it's very cool to be a leader in the future like to help other teenagers to do their best, when they, when they are in the future so I think it is something what I will do

The reason behind what girls would do in Underground was the same reason as for the others: they did not know what to do otherwise or they were doing what they want. But there are some new things in two interviews that they mentioned they wanted to do. Those are bingo or lotto nights and photoshop with real camera. Almost every girl, 16 girls, want to organize some activities for others. One did not know and others did not want. Most of them want to do that with friends and only some girls by themselves. And they want to organize the same kind of activities which have been there. So it is very good that they have the Leadership School, because many girls are interested or eager to lead others. Then they can learn how to do that in the right way. Also Hederos suggest that girls who involved in the Leadership School are good models to other young people.

HG. J: and do you want do this by yourself or with your friends? H: öö with my friends, yeah, I think it is better, it is better would you have more ideas from more people, you know, J: yes H: more perspective and yeah

Young people need that they get responsibility so Leadership School facilitates how to do this in practice, suggest Alijevski. Hederos agrees with this also. Young people must be given the responsibility: I can help you with this, but this you must do yourself. Open and close the doors to a certain extent. Do not say how to do things but ask or discuss with people and respect them. Although you not agree with young, still say that you support and will not leave her or him. (Hederos 2014.).

3.3 Heard and got interested

Almost every girl had heard about Underground from a friend, Peter, their sister, their cousin or other people. Only two girls referred Facebook and one had seen some posters, but she heard from friends also. I did not ask everyone how they got interested, because some did not understand that question right or they could not say how this happened. But I still got some very good answers so I regret that now. Actually there are only four interviews when I did not ask it, so most of the girls have answered something to this question also. There are so many different kinds of answers. The girls have been interested or liked something a long time. Or they saw someone else doing that and then they became interested also.

HD. H: it is not that difficult to hear about it, it just you see people come in and you see, you hear people talk about it... so... I will remember anything, they have a Facebook group so that's good too J: yes and how did you become interested in this activity? H: interesting...? J: what you do, dance and everything how did you come become interesting? H: I can't remember but... it just... wanna... you see dancers and then you wanna dance too.. or you see a leader, you wanna be leader too, always wanna be the better person or I don't know so you find different ways to improve, do things

HG. H: first I was here just like others take chill and hang out and then I met Peter here and he asked me want to be Leadership School, you know about it? J: yes, I know H: I became part of that, it is like my job, you know, it is part of my life, if I can say so, so maybe that's it, the LS make me, make me like this or something yeah, soo and it is nice hang out with, with other people here

HA. H: I saw, I saw my friends having so much fun and I saw Peter helping them a lot and I thought I need them, I need him too, to helping me so and he is done very well

HQ. H1: hmm H2: we always been like interesting to work with äää people so we just like a good opportunity H1: yeah

HC. J: How did you hear about öö these activities in UG before you came? H: Facebook J: okei aand how did you become interested in this activities? H: öö I wasn't interesting but all of my friends went there so I follow those but it was fun

3.4 Good and bad

This theme tells something about the good and bad things in Underground. There are four subthemes in this theme, because there were so many different answers that I thought it is clearer like that. The subthemes are social, activities, best and bad. Social, activities and best include good and positive things in Underground. Bad includes things that could be done in a different way, among other things. It was many times good to rephrase the questions, because for example some girls did not know answers to what is not good, but then later they said something what they did not like at all. Many girls said that everything was good or they did not know what was wrong or not good. The social answers are things between people. Those are equal and respect between all young people (girls and boys) and leaders, atmosphere as well as that boys and girls can be together. This includes friends, other girls, leaders and new people also. One girl said that all young people can be together and then they cannot go outside like gangs or do other bad things. These are good things in Underground. Activities does not include a list of different activities again but it includes that you can do whatever you want and girls have something to do all the time. Many girls said that there is a lot of fun time or fun things. The only actual activities that the girls mentioned in this subtheme were the girl's night and movies.

HD. H: UG is good because we have a... equal of the both sexuals so.. so many girls as boys, somebody can meet more girls and boys so that's because I think the parents believes in the leaders they can sent them girls over here or we can also be that girls and the boys grow up with each other... in a environment where they... (background noises) environment where they, know each others boundaries so... so boys won't insult girls here and girls want insult boys so that's good because then many girls would come here and won't be afraid to come here and know the leaders would staff the person that we believe them more or something like that

HN. J: what is good in UG? H1: mm get the chance öö chance to meet other people and for example like you and the we öö learnt how to become good leaders and things like that H2: yeah

The best things in Underground are that you can hang out with everybody or friends, girls can be in the dancehall, young people have a place to be in, girls learn how become good leaders, the opening hours (UG is open when the other center is close), food, and that the girls have a dance studio. This theme shares some common things with the "Social" and "Activities" subthemes as well. For

example great leaders, many things that you can do and respect.

HQ. H1: mmm... I think that best thing is ??, we in our group have plan to do something and we do it and success that's what I like most, that's keep us going in, makes such as I wanna do more stuff H2: and keeps us more thing

Fourth subtheme is "Bad". Many girls said that the not so good things in Underground are that sometimes it can be very noise, the boys fight or they do not listen to the leaders and people are screaming. Expensive prices, that girls cannot play basketball because boys are playing in the sport hall and location are bad things also. Further, suggestions what could be done in a different way are the small facilities, air-condition, the location of the girls' room (one has to go past other young people), the place should be lifted up more, more activities that draw more people and more activities for the girls. One girl said that group organization does not always work because she does not always feel comfortable. But I did not quite know what she meant, because she nevertheless said she feels safe there.

HA. J: and what is not good? H: People is screaming and they screaming lot aand I don't like even they fight if fight a lot down there and I don't like that it is, it is yeah, I don't know J: what is the best thing in Underground? H: best thing öö it has to be to meet everybody aand have a lot of fun because we are at home and do nothing, when come there you see everybody and just the, you are with them and you have a lot of fun and they laughing and yeah so.. I think that's best part, I think

HI. J: and what is good here in UG? H: it is... that everybody is like very dear, dear themselves and everybody likes boys and girls can be together and have fun, that's what I thought about it J: and what is not good? H: that sometimes it can be like very noise and the guys can like öö become violence... and yeah.. start arguing... then we would need to shout down the place and yeah

HB. J: What is good in UG? H: I think... the good thing is that they have some girls night sometimes and lots of girls there so you like comfortable to be there so yeah J: yeah and what is not good? H: öööm the, the sport hall you know, they play basketball, they play soccer there right now we can't play basketball with friends so that's is that HB. J: okei and what is the best thing in UG? H: ööö the dance studio, of course J: and is something what do you not like at all? H: nou, I don't think sou, everything is good J: yes, and is something what could be done in a different way? H: öömm I don't know

HH. J: what is good in here in UG? H: that the leaders are so, they talk to everyone and everyone can talk with each other here and hang out J: good and what is not good? H: I don't know... öö some groups are organized like mix dancers are going to dance there and the boys always plays football and it's like, sometimes... I don't know how to say but you don't always feel comfortable with everyone but sometimes yeah J: okay aand what is the best thing in Underground? H: that you can do so much in a small place J: aand is something what do you not like at all? H: nou J: or what could be done in a different way? H: I think nothing, I don't have something in my mind

3.5 Safety

All of the 22 girls feel safe in Underground. Maybe I can suggest that this was the easiest question, because girls did not need to think about the answers. The answers came quickly out. But the reason 'why it is safe' was not so easy to answer, but after some time they were able to tell me why. There are two kind of social reasons. The first one is because their friends are there or they know people who are there. The second is leaders. Girls said that the leaders are very good and they take care of everyone. I think that the leaders know what they are doing.

HI. J: okay, do you feel that you are safe here? H: yeah, very safe J: Okay, what is the reason for this? H: hmmm? J: what is the reason, for this? H: mmm... I just feel like safe because this is the neighborhood where I live and I know everybody in here.. and I just feel very safe in here.. maybe because I know everybody here so yeah

HD. J: aand do you feel that you are safe here? H: yeah very J: mmm and what is the reason for this? H: because I know everyone and we know each other and, we know each others boundaries and we know... we know each other and we know their parents and our parents know each other, they know Peter and Peter is kind of one who goes (someone scream) everyone know everyone's parents and so it is a safe place

HB. H: yeah of course, yeah, every time, every time, every time when I'm there I feel comfortable and that's J: yes and what is the reason for this? that's safe? H: comfort... safe, because a lot of, a lot of my friends is there so is comfortable be there

HQ. J: do you feel that you are safe in UG? H2: yeah H1: yeah, of course J: and what is the reason for this? H1: because here in Råslätt everyone grow up together, even if we are friends or we know each other, we know each others families and so we know nothing wrong H2: yeah H1: in safe (?) small place, everyone know each others H2: even if are not say "Hi" each other, we like, we know them and they know us H1: if I

*don't know the person I know H2: their parents or someone in their family H1: yeah
H2: or.. yeah, we related so
HH. J: öö do you feel that you are safe here? H: yeah J: and what is the reason for this?
H: because everyone talks to each other, and it feels like you are all our family*

The third reason is not so social, but it is the area, just Råslätt, the community. Almost every girl lives there and knows the area so they feel safe. I suggest that Underground is a safe youth center for young people. Two girls even said that people feel like family there. Relationships are not part of today's life, because you should be individual and you can do everything alone, you do not need others' help. But really? I do not think so. Relationships work very well in Underground and that affects positively to the girls' lives. Siv agrees with this. She thinks that the most important thing is relationships and that you know people. She also says that girls know that they are safe in Underground and this research really show that it is true! Mazar suggests this reason also. He says that emotional and physical safety is needed for girls.

3.6 Other youth centers

Most of the girls say that they do not go to other youth centers than Underground, because they live in Råslätt which is the same area where Underground is located. This is the most popular answer. The other reasons are opening hours, friends or people and many girls involved in Leadership School. Some girls need more activities than what Underground can offer so that is the reason why they go to other centers also. Other centers can be open Monday to Friday but Underground is open on Saturday and Sunday. Some girls go to other centers as often as to Underground and some girls not go so often to other centers.

*H1. J: do you go to other youth drop-in centers than this in your free time? H: no J: okay.. why do you come only to Underground? H: because is, this is the one I been grown ups in there and it is in my neighborhood and... cause there I go to the youth, the leadership school and I'm involved in and I'm leader so, this is the place I should be..
HG. J: Do you go to other youth drop-in centers than this in your free time? H: nou J: okei why do you come only to Underground? J: because I live here in Råslätt sou it is closest to me and and I don't know how I feel comfortable if I went to other ööö youth J: center H: yeah, because I don't, I mean I don't know people there are, it is more safe and comfortable here and I feel like home
HA. J: aand do you go to other youth drop-in centers than this in your free time? H:*

Nou, only Råslätt J: why do you come only to Underground? H: because, I don't know, maybe it's because I know the people who come here, I know a lot of people who go to other places but ööö... I don't know.. I don't feel safe when I'm there, as so as in here so HD. J: and do you go to other youth drop-in centers than this in your free time? H: yeah J: do you go there as often as you go to Underground? H: nou, it can, it depends, sometimes and sometimes no

3.7 Parents

Almost every girl's parents know if their girl or girls go to Underground. There is only one girl whose parents did not know that. And almost every parents know Peter or some leader from Underground. Two girls said that they do not know the leaders and some girls were not sure about that. But I think that they still know at least Peter, because everyone knows him in the Råslätt. At least they have heard something about Peter or Underground. Råslätt is not too big of an area. I have heard and seen that he is well-known there.

HA. J: Do your parents know that you come here? H: yeah, of course. J: yes, and they know Peter and/or other leaders? H: yeah, they don't know them that well but I told them, told my parents lot of a Peter, of Peter a lot so they trust him

HQ. J: aand do your parents know that you come here, UG? H1: yes H2: yes J: öö do they know Peter and/or other leaders? H2: yep H1: yeah, maybe not everyone, but Peter H2: Peter everyone knows Peter in Råslätt so (J: laugh, yes) H1: Peter knows everyone J: Yeah, I have heard about this, yes

HJ. J: aand do you Do your parents know that you come here? H: yeap J: and Do they know Peter and/or other leaders? H: yeah, they have heard about him and they, they think that he is very good person

Mazar also says that Peter and Håkan (pastor of the church) live in the middle of the community (Råslätt), so other people have noticed that they are normal people. Parents have to know you and the activities which you offer. Then they can trust your work better and it is better that people who know the area well are working there. (Alijevski 2014.). Siv also says that tell the truth of what you are doing. Regardless of being Christian, Underground is part of a church but no religion or political programs. Do not say how to do things but ask or discuss with people. Do what you say and say what you do. Good relationships with young people and their parents and telling of truth affect that parents trust to Underground and to leaders who are working there. (Hederos 2014.).

3.8 The Driving School

The Driving School results include four different themes (because there are no backgrounds). The first is 'the beginning' and it includes basic information. Two of the girls have heard this Driving School opportunity from their friend who drove with Peter before them. And the other girls heard this from Peter or their family knows Peter. Then girls heard this from their mother or sister. Girls have driving lessons one or two times in a week and the whole Driving School takes about one and a half years before they will get a driving license. But all girls did not get their driving license yet.

HRD. J: How did you hear about this DS opportunity? H: öö I have a friend she was here, she drive with Peter J: okei H: she told me J: yeah he, she drive before you? H: yeah J: yeah, of course

The second theme is 'why'. Girls chose this option because they have heard that Peter is a good teacher or they knew him already before Driving School. And every girl said that this Driving School is cheaper than a normal driving school. Girls pay only for the gas, so this is a big reason why girls choose this option with Peter. Some girls did not know anybody else who can teach them. Some girls go to both, the Driving School with Peter and a normal driving school also. Every girl's parents know Peter so maybe this helps them use this option also.

*HLD. J: yeah, okei and Why did you chose this option and not a driving school or someone else to drive with privately? H1: because I think Peter is good H2: you mean driver.. (H1: and the) school or? J: yeah H1: because it's cheaper and a driving school is very expensive H2: yeah, exactly expensive H1: and I went to driving school, I took two classes and I didn't learn anything I think Peter was much better H2: yeah J:okei
HXD. H1: because driving school is much more expensive and and I don't know anybody else H2: mm me either H3: the same answer
HED. H: because I trust Peter very well and I know that he not abuse me and the he was a very very cheap to driving with I only pay for gas and driving school pay more than that*

The third theme is 'like and safe'. Girls said that their Driving School is good, great and so on. They told positive things of Peter and what they remember from driving lessons. Some of the girls said that they want to get this chance to many other people also.

HED. J: What do you like this DS? H: with Peter because I like him is very good teacher, he explains and have a lot of patience what I need – J: yeah, okei, good, these were all my questions is something what do you like to say more or add? H: öö no, actually I just think that Peter is best driving teacher in the world seriously and everyone have to chance to driving with him and... (this part is little unclear) ...he is very very good teacher and not just the teacher he is very very good friend he listen to you and he support you and he really help you without excepting anything and it's weird those people today

HMD. H: it's really good to have this opportunity to drive because öö several people don't have öö cannot for the pay the high cost to driving school that's what I told

HLD. H1: öö mm I think it was very good H2: yeah me too H1: and very thank full yeah H2: it was very good I have one so much so when I drive now I always think about Peter when he was learning me like 'oh my God, I didn't remember this' H1: yeah Peter told me this so we still have (H2: yeah) what he taught us

All girls feel safe, but maybe some of them misunderstood the question, because the reason behind what they said was like why it is good to go to a driving school or how they feel about traffic things. They did not answer why they feel safe to be with Peter during the driving lessons, which was my purpose. But I did not understand that in the interview, only after the interviews or I did not know how to say the question better or explain it in English better. This was a problem with my English. So this is the reason why I did not take this up better as like as I did with Underground questions. But I got some answers to my actual question also.

HED. H: yeah, absolutely, no questions about it (Jonna ask the reason for this) H: ööö because he is been like uncle for me

The last theme is 'know more'. Every girl know what Underground offer more than only Driving School or if they did not know they know that now after this interview. Three girls have been involved in at least one of the other programs or activities. One girl has been involved in earlier, before her Driving School, but she lives in other city now. And the other girls will do that in the future or their life situation not allow that at least or they think that they are too old involved in other programs or activities.

HXD. H3: we live here, we don't live in Råslätt, we can't, it's harder to us to go

HRD. J: are you considering using any of the other programs? H: not yet, but I will

It is important that politicians know what happened and they can visit to Underground sometimes also. The Driving School is good example what you can do when you have good relationship with politicians. (Hederos 2014.).

4. Conclusions and suggestions for future research

There are many reasons why immigrant girls come to Underground. Main reasons are social things, activities and the fact that Underground is a very safe place. Social things and activities come up from many different theme answers. Social things includes friends, leaders and atmosphere. Activities of course include different kind of activities which they have there, but also the fact that girls can do many things, almost whatever they want to and they have something to do all the time. This means that Underground is a social meeting place where you can do something at the same time while meeting your friends. Almost every girl wants to organize some activities for the others. So it is very good that they have the Leadership School, because many girls are interested or eager to lead others. Through the Leadership School they can learn how to do that in the right way. This means that girls have a good opportunity to learn important things that they need for example in work life in the future.

All girls feel safe in Underground, because there are their friends, good leaders and it is part of the community of Råslätt. This is a very important point. It means that the girls can be part of a larger group and be approved as Rieppo said. Underground wanted to be a safe place, according their websites, so this research confirms that it is really safe place. Almost all the girls have heard about Underground from a friend, Peter or other people. Only two girls referred to Facebook and one had seen some posters, but she heard from a friend also. This means that the bush telegraph works well in Råslätt. And it is more powerful if you heard things from reliable people than read about it somewhere. There are much more positive and good things than bad things about Underground. The most of the good things are social things or activities. Bad things can help leaders turn Underground to a better place. Many girls say that they do not like it when people are screaming or fighting. But I think that it is normal for young people to do that sometimes. But too much is too much. Most of the girls go only to Underground (not other youth centers). Some girls need more activities than what Underground can offer so that is the reason why they go to other

centers also. All of the girl's parents know Peter and/or other leaders so they trust them and allow their girls to come. This reassert Underground's position also.

Immigrant girls have some same answers than all young people generally to why they were involved in the youth center's activities. They can be self-imposed, involved in activities, meet boys, girls and new friends and they can take it easy as Jönköping's municipality research say. But immigrant girls need relationships, many activities and opportunities to take responsibility also. They want to use their skills but also learn new things. And they have a need to feel safe there where they are. Alijevski and Hederos confirm relationships, activities and safety also. And the Leadership School has a significant and important role in Underground's work. I suggest that Underground has a big part in the girls' lives. Girls choose the Driving School option with Peter because they have heard that Peter is a good teacher or they know him already before the Driving School. And every girl said that this Driving School is cheaper than a normal driving school. Many girls have not got a chance to get a driving license without this option. So this Driving School has an important role among young girls, especially Muslim girls.

HQ. J: why do you come only to Underground? H2: cause there, because we working there and H1: it's our place H2: yeas, that's we feeling like we are home H1: yeah, it's our home and we always make activities there so that's where we should be H2: yeah, because we don't have time to like go to others so we want to like change our UG and make it better so we don't focus on others

I am interested in knowing how the youth work with immigrants, especially with girls, has been organized in Finland. I know very well now how good it is and how it works in the Underground, but how is it in Finland? Can I get the same answers from immigrant girls in Finland in Tampere? So the further study topic could be how the youth work with immigrant girls is organized in Finland? Or why immigrant girls are involved in some youth center's activities in Tampere? I think that it could be interesting to compare these Swedish girls' answers with answers from Finnish girls in similar situations. Can we learn something from Sweden, especially from Underground youth center? But I am interested in safety also, how the other themes describe girl's safety. I want to know how common as safe youth centers are. First we thought with my supervisor that I can interview some girls' parents also in Jönköping but then I did not have time to do that so this perspective could be an interesting further study topic also.

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6. Appendix

Appendix 1.

THE MAJOR QUESTION: WHY ARE IMMIGRANT GIRLS INVOLVED IN UNDERGROUND? (and/or driving school and/or leadership school, drop in, girls activities, music, employability help, counselling etc)

GIRLS IN UNDERGROUND:

Background:

How old are you?

Where you born in Sweden or in another country?

How long have you lived in Jönköping?

Right questions:

1) When did you come to Underground for the first time?

Alone or with somebody?

Why did you come here the first time?

How often do you come here? (Every month? / Every weekend? / Other?)

What kind of program (or activity) have you been involved in? Which activity did you attend first? (Driving school, Underground (Drop in nights) or leadership school?

2) What do you usually do here? What would you like to do?

Would you want to organize some activities for the girls in Underground (by yourself or with your friends)? If yes, what kind of activities?

3) How did you hear about this program (before you came)?

How did you become interested in this activity?

4) What is good here? And what is not good? Why?

What is the best thing in Underground?

And what do you not like at all? What could be done in a different way?

Do you feel that you are safe here? What is the reason for this?

5) Do you go to other youth drop-in centers than this in your free time?

(if yes) Do you go there as often as you go to Underground?

(if no) If not, why do you come only to Underground?

6) Do your parents know that you come here? Do they know Peter and/or other leaders?

GIRLS IN DRIVING SCHOOL:

Background:

How old are you?

Were you born in Sweden or in another country?

How long have you lived in Jönköping?

Right questions:

1) How did you hear about this opportunity?

When did you start it?

How often do you have driving lessons?

2) Why did you choose this option and not a driving school or someone else to drive with privately?

Do your parents know Peter also?

3) What do you like this driving school?

Do you feel that you are safe in DS? What is the reason for this?

4) Do you know what Underground offer more (drop in, girls activities, music, employability help, counselling etc) ?

Are you considering using any of the other programs or activities? If not why?

What kind of activities or programs?